

# SPEECH

DELIVERED BY THE

## HON. ROBERT BALDWIN,

AT A

### PUBLIC DINNER

GIVEN TO HIM BY

## THE REFORM ELECTORS OF THE EAST RIDING OF HALTON,

ON WEDNESDAY, NOV. 11, 1846.

PUBLISHED AT THE "WARDER" OFFICE, DUNDAS.

# SPEECH.

Mr. Baldwin begged to assure them that he felt deeply gratified by the honor they had done him. He could not look at the list of those who had honored him with the invitation on the present occasion, without feeling the pleasing assurance that he had among those by whom he had that evening the happiness of being surrounded, many attached personal friends. (Cheers.) But he assured them that he was not vain enough to attribute the warm manner in which his health had been received to considerations merely personal to himself. On the contrary, no one was more sensible that they had at once a deeper and a loftier object. They were directed to the glorious cause with which his name happened to be identified, and to which he felt it no vanity to say that he had had the happiness of performing some faithful services. (Great cheering.) Gratifying as was such an honor under any circumstances, he felt it particularly so, as coming from those who had made the first great popular demonstration in support of that great State Document, the Text-book of British Colonial Rights, LORD DURHAM'S REPORT (cheers); and it was still more gratifying to his feelings, as conveying to him, as he understood it to do, not only their confidence in his unshaken attachment to their common principles, but their approbation of the course which, as a public man, he had felt it his duty to pursue for the advancement—and, he could confidently add, the ultimate triumph of those great principles. (Cheers.)

That was not a time, nor that an assembly, in which these great principles required either a teacher to expound or an advocate to defend them. They were deeply engraven on the hearts of all who heard him, and formed the basis of their political faith. It was well, however, on occasions like the present, to bear in mind, not so much for their own sake as for that of others, that those principles, as they regard our civil and political rights, are none other than the principles of the glorious constitution of our Parent State, and as they affect our religious interests, those only of the everlasting Gospel of Peace. (Cheers.) That such principles must in the nature of things be ultimately triumphant, required neither a prophet's aspiration to foresee nor a prophet's fire to foretell; and it had been the strong conviction of this, coupled with the consciousness that in his advocacy of these great principles he had uniformly pursued a direct, uncompromising, but at the same time an essentially moderate course, that had ever sustained him amidst the trials and turmoils of the political struggle. He had said that his course had been essentially a moderate one, and he repeated it. He had frequently challenged his opponents to put their finger on a single act of his political life that deserved any other designation, and he would repeat that challenge at all times and under all circumstances. It was true there were some who seemed to conceive moderation to consist in an undefined something, which might be negatively described as what was not thought by either of the two great parties into which the country is divided, but of which it was utterly impossible to obtain any positive definition, either from its professors or any one else. In fact, this kind

of moderation seemed to him to have no principle at all—(cheers)—and certainly all claim to be considered moderate in that sense of the word, he must wholly disclaim. (Renewed cheers.) But if a firm, undeviating adherence to the great principles of the constitution—the assertion that these principles, which had been won by the blood of our ancestors, had not been so won for the mere rocks, and fields, and mountains of the Parent State, but for the people who inhabited them, and that the rights that had been achieved at such sacrifices belonged by inheritance to us as unalienably as to our fellow subjects in the United Kingdom—if the fighting the great battle of those rights for his native country with those weapons only which were furnished from the armory of the constitution—if such principles and such a mode of combating for them entitled a man to the need of moderation, then emphatically he claimed such for himself. (Great cheering.) He felt therefore, while looking upon the past and pointing to the future, a moral certainty of ultimate success. But they must remember, that whether they were themselves to reap the fruits of their past struggles, or leave the glory of the final accomplishment of the triumph to their children, must depend upon themselves. The present time was every way propitious of success, whether we looked to the prospects arising out of the progress of political parties and political principles in the Parent State, to the gradual dispersion of those clouds of prejudice by which our opponents have so frequently contrived to envelope us, or to the conviction to which our opponents themselves have been reduced by the three years' possession of power which they have enjoyed. (Cheers.)

It was true that with the rise or fall of political parties in the Parent State, we had neither constitutionally nor otherwise any direct political connection; neither would he be understood as by any means identifying such parties with those which happen to have assumed corresponding designations in this country. The boundaries of party combinations are necessarily fixed by causes peculiar to the political condition of the country in which they exist; and to attribute to the Tories of the United Kingdom, as a body, the principles which governed their Colonial namesakes, would he felt to be in the highest degree illiberal and unjust. The latter had drawn their principles from theories long exploded there, and which, in the present enlightened age, could find a resting place only under the shadow of the old Colonial system—a system under the benumbing influences of which we had so long languished, but which he felt assured had now happily passed away forever. (Cheers.) As an example of the necessity of guarding against attributing principles upon no better grounds than that of similarity in party designations, he would refer to the opinions expressed by Sir R. Peel and Lord Stanley in the debate in the Imperial House of Commons on the disruption of the late Provincial Administration. He, for his part, was ready to accept the views of those statesmen as he understood them, apart of course from those misapprehensions and misconceptions into which, by some strange fatality, it appeared to be the lot of

all English statesmen, the affairs of a colony was ready to accept those distinctions identical with those between them and Russell, the then contended for by the very occasion which he referred to conviction that difference between tainty that, had men to whom he late Governor of no such difficulty country into the could ever have viewing our int light, he yet co circumstances fu Councils should over by the state had given the In of Lord Durha ment direct the great state Colonies were l valuable State o larly when we the distinguish relative, and by course had been great general p timate grounds might justly co that, in such h sacred, as well which these ri regard to the

But while raged by the e laded as conne the Parent Sta was, after al, must in the r parties and the therefore more deration and around them fo more reason to tification and did not to re their opponen party as their in the way of tion. It was racter and cor on the remov ound princip foundation up the future.

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all English statesmen to fall when discussing the affairs of a colony. He said that, for his part, he was ready to accept the principles enounced by those distinguished statesmen, as substantially identical with his own. He saw no difference between them and those put forth by Lord John Russell, the then leader of the opposition, or those contended for by himself and his late colleagues on the very occasion which gave rise to the debate to which he referred (cheers). And so deep was his conviction that there was in truth no practical difference between them, that he felt a moral certainty that, had any one of the really great statesmen to whom he referred been in the place of the late Governor General on the occasion alluded to, no such difficulty as that which had thrown this country into the turmoil and excitement of 1843-4 could ever have had existence. (Cheers.) But viewing our interest in English politics in this light, he yet could not help looking upon it as a circumstance full of promise, that the Imperial Councils should at the present time be presided over by the statesman who, as Colonial Secretary, had given the Imperial imprimatur to the doctrine of Lord Durham's Report, and the Colonial Department directed by one so nearly connected with the great statesman to whom England and her Colonies were both so much indebted for that invaluable State document (cheers); more particularly when we see the latter nobleman assisted by the distinguished chief secretary of his deceased relative, and by another gentleman whose political course had been marked by adherence to the same great general principles. These surely were legitimate grounds for congratulation, and such as might justly entitle us to rejoice in the assurance that, in such hands, our rights would ever be held sacred, as well from a love for the principles upon which these rights are founded, as from a pious regard to the sacred memory of the departed.

But while we might well feel encouraged by the circumstances to which he had alluded as connected with the progress of events in the Parent State, it must never be forgotten that it was, after all, upon their own energies that they must in the main depend. It was the state of parties and the position of affairs nearer home that therefore more immediately called for their consideration and attention. And when they looked around them for that purpose, they would find still more reason to look forward to the future with satisfaction and confidence—and in saying this, he did not refer to the dissensions in the camp of their opponents, which, to any other than such a party as theirs, might prove a formidable difficulty in the way of the present Provincial Administration. It was to one of an entirely different character and complexion—one which, as it is based on the removal of misconception and the spread of sound principles, is a far better as it is a far firmer foundation upon which to rest our anticipations for the future.

It was a remarkable fact, that looking back at the history, of our past struggles it would be found that every temporary defeat, which as a party we had suffered, had after its immediate consequences had passed, tended materially to spread wider and wider the principles which we held, and add substantial strength to us as a party devoted to the support of these principles and the successful conduct of the Government of the country upon them. (Cheers.) And the same, if he did not greatly mistake, would prove to be the result of the electoral defeat of 1844. (Renewed Cheers.) To go

no farther back than the struggle of 1836—they all recollected the loud and solemn denunciations which proceeded from the vice-regal throne against them and their principles in that eventful year. By the highest authority in the country our principles were declared to be republican—and our objects revolutionary—and the name and office of the Representative of Majesty prostituted to the vile purposes of political detraction and party triumph. (Cheers.) And yet three years had not elapsed before Lord Durham's Report had given the high sanction of one of the proudest of the proud aristocracy of the Parent State to the very doctrines which had been thus denounced. (Cheers.) Ay, and hundreds, nay thousands who had been led astray by the bold and confident assertions which had been the great staple upon which our opponents had traded in 1836, saw the error into which they had been led, and became the warm and consistent supporters of the cause which they had a year or two before lent the aid of all their energies to overthrow. (Cheers.) He had said the consistent supporters of that great cause, because at the very time they were fighting against us they were in fact in principle with us. They really loved British principles and British practice, and it was not against such that they wished to raise their voices. But they had been told from a quarter to which they looked with respect, and from the station which he occupied to which they were entitled to look with respect, that such were our principles and such our objects. Many of them had but recently arrived amongst us from the parent state desiring to obtain a home for themselves and their children after them, surrounded by all the blessings of British Institutions, consecrated by so many hallowed recollections of their native country. And thus their very devotion to their principles was craftily made a means of deluding them into the support of the bitterest opponents of those very principles. (Cheers.) Was he not right then in calling their disentangling themselves from the political connection which they had formed at the moment of misconception and alarm as a consistent course?—To him it appeared that it would be at once unjust and ungenerous to designate it by any other epithet. (Cheers.) He need not draw the parallel between the contest of 1836, and its results in the point of view to which he had referred, and that of 1844; this similarity he felt convinced was already too strongly stamped on the mind of all to require illustration. And he would ask was it possible but that time and observation had been gradually and surely developing similar results from the denunciations and misconceptions of '44? He felt assured that they were. (Cheers.) And not only so, but though defeated as a party in the electoral contest, the very principles for which that contest had been braved, had to be taken up and publicly acted upon by the very men who had stolen into power by the denunciation of it. (Cheers.) It was true we could not draw aside the veil by which the internal working of the machinery of government was conducted. But from the glimpse with which they had been favoured of what had taken place under the present Administration with respect to the Adjutant and Assistant Adjutant Generalship of Militia, he would boldly ask whether any man could doubt that the constitutional obligation of consultation with his Responsible Advisers was felt in all its stringency by the present Representative of the Sovereign? (Cheers.) Certainly to the full, as much as was ever done by his predecessor. And he would add, felt in a manner too, which he (Mr. Baldwin) should think was, to say the very least of it, not



quite so agreeable to the feelings as could be desired. (Cheers and great laughter.) And certainly not so consistent with the position which it was a part of the duty of the Ministers, as far as possible, to preserve for the Representative of her Majesty as the course contended for by him and his late colleagues was calculated to insure. (Cheers.) He meant by the remarks that he had just made to condemn at present neither the Head of the Government, the Provincial Ministry, nor any one connected with the transaction referred to; when the proper time came, he should not shrink from dealing with it in a spirit of justice to all parties concerned. But, well he knew that, had a similar occurrence taken place under a Reform Administration, they might have looked in vain to be treated with similar candour and moderation. (Cheers.) Well he knew that had such occurred when he (Mr. Baldwin) and his late colleagues were in office, the vocabulary of our language would not have furnished our opponents with language strong enough to give vent to their bursting indignation. (Cheers and laughter.) O, how eloquently they would have discoursed of the Prerogative of the Crown and the domineering and dictatorial insolence of the Ministers. (Renewed laughter.) But again, the defeat to which he had alluded had been attended with another advantage; it had afforded us an opportunity of being again seen in the position of an opposition. And though placed there under circumstances, and by means which might well excuse no small degree of feeling on their part, their opponents themselves had found no ground upon which to assail them for the manner in which they had conducted that opposition. (Cheers.) He begged pardon, they had on one occasion ventured to impute to them the adoption of an unjustifiable course in our opposition to a measure on which they had staked their political existence. They had in 1845 attributed the opposition to the University Bill to motives of faction. But a twelvemonth had scarce elapsed when by almost universal consent it was admitted that the measure in question would have satisfied none of the different parties which were calling for legislation upon the subject, and was rejected in the very house which has been sustaining the present ministry in power, by a majority of 20. And so passed their charge of factious opposition on that point. [Cheers.] While in the conduct of the business of the House, as well as in carrying some of their measures through it, they had been forced to acknowledge the assistance which they had received from the opposition [cheers], often in fact sustaining them, when we felt they were right, even against their own supporters. [Renewed cheers.] It cannot be but that the course which they had thus pursued while in opposition, had gone far to disabuse those who had been so unjustly prejudiced against them; and indeed he had reason to know that it had wrung expressions of approbation from some of the highest quarters among the ranks of their opponents [cheers.] That such also had been the effect among a large circle of those who, like the mistaken of 1836, had been misled into distrust of us in 1844, he had the best reason to believe from what he learned of the state of feeling in all parts of the Province. [Cheers.] Indeed, to doubt it would be paying but a poor compliment either to the judgment or the candour of the parties to whom he referred. The distrust, too, of that highly respectable and influential portion of the community, the mercantile body, was, he had reason to believe, rapidly disappearing.—[Cheers.] They were too intelligent not to see the groundlessness of their former doubts, and too

honest not to give effect to their convictions by uniting upon the basis of common sympathies and common principles. [Cheers.] Their former jealousy may have been in part created by the too common but most mistaken mode of speaking of the agricultural and commercial interests of the country as two antagonists, neither of which could be promoted but at the expense of the other. But he was sure he need not remind those who had watched his [Mr. Baldwin's] political course with any care, that such had never been the language held by him on this important subject; but that, on the contrary, though the last certainly to undervalue the importance of the agricultural interests, he had ever held the true doctrine to be this—that here, as elsewhere, all the great interests of the country were mutually dependent upon each other, and that it was not by the depression of any that the others could be promoted, [cheers]—a truth which he was certain would be heartily responded to by the intelligent farmers by whom he was surrounded. [Cheers.] He said then, unhesitatingly, that from the gradual dispersion of the mists of prejudice, and the more thorough and extensive acquaintance which had been acquired of their principles themselves, as well as their mode of promoting and mainaining them, they since the last election were gaining and continuing daily to gain the most valuable accession of strength. [Cheers.]

But he had said that their cause had been further strengthened by the very position to which the possession of power had reduced their opponents,—and he believed that all who heard him, nay, all of every party and of every shade of politics in the country, would be ready to admit that it was impossible for a ministry to have done more for their political opponents than the present had done, if proving themselves wholly inadequate to the high and important positions which they occupied could have such effect. [Cheers.] The remarks he had just made had no reference to the personal talents of the different members of the Government or any of them. He passed by all that had been said or might be said on that score, and would add that for the talents of the present Premier, the learned Attorney General for Upper Canada, no one entertained a higher respect than himself. But talents alone, though important, were far from being the sole requisite of an Administration, either upon the English principles of government, or those of any other popularly constituted Government in the world; nay, he suspected that even in Despotisms, something more was deemed desirable, if not necessary, to make a useful minister. But upon British principles, an Administration, to be efficient for good, to be capable of performing the high duties with which they are entrusted by the Sovereign, must carry with them the confidence of the country, or at least of a large mass of it.—[Cheers.] That was the very basis of the whole system. [Cheers.] What then, he would ask, was the class of public opinions that the present ministry represented? What was the portion of the community of this great Province which professed to have, he would not say the necessary confidence in them, but any confidence at all?—[Cheers.] If they looked to the public press, they would find it almost unanimously condemning them. Indeed, it had not been long since the imputation of being their supporter had been indignantly repudiated by some of the long list of Tory denouncers which had been ingeniously collected by one of the Reform journals. [Cheers.] First, as to the Reformers, he need not ask whether the ministry possessed their confidence. [Great Laughter.]

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[Great Laughter.]

Then, could much more be said as respect-  
ed the Tories themselves? Passing by  
their mode of dealing with the Adjutant  
Generalship and the late Solicitor Gen-  
eral of Upper Canada, there were the  
University and Clergy Reserve questions.  
These, to go no farther, had sufficiently  
shown what little pretensions the Ministry  
had to represent Tory opinions upon these  
great questions. But it was perfectly prepo-  
sterous to talk of their doing so—the To-  
ries themselves did not pretend it. True,  
they always rallied to the rescue to keep  
them in office, but it was for no love they  
bear them, but as all knew, and indeed as  
they themselves avow, from a fear of the  
advent to power of the dreaded Reform-  
ers. [Cheers and laughter.] Then as  
to the moderates, or at least those who  
claimed to be such *par excellence*. They  
all recollected that the University Bill, or  
at least a *University Bill*, yes, a liberal  
Univer- sity Bill, was by them made the  
great topic of promise during the last  
struggle. Sir Charles Metcalfe and liberal  
measures, and above all, Sir Charles Met-  
calfe and a liberal University Bill, was  
drummed in our ears from one end of the  
provinces to the other. Well, the clap-trap  
cry had passed, and the electoral victory  
was achieved in a great measure by means  
of it. And how have those who rallied to  
the cry been treated?—Sold! regularly  
sold. [Cheers and laughter.] It de-  
served no better name, and he felt con-  
vinced that a large body of those who had  
been captivated by it, were equally con-  
vinced of the truth of what he said.  
[Cheers.] Then, had the changes that  
had taken place in the Administration  
since the elections given those parties any  
greater reason to be satisfied with the man-  
ner they had been treated in the general  
administration of affairs? Had not every  
new shuffle of the Ministerial cards tend-  
ed directly to a diminution of their in-  
fluence and the increase of that of ultra  
Toryism, which, be it remembered, these  
very gentlemen had been formerly, nay,  
during the very contest itself, as loud in  
denouncing, ay, he really believed more  
so, than the Reformers themselves? [Cheers.] Two Inspectors General are  
selected from the ranks of those most hos-  
tile to the very measure that the moderates  
had ever professed to have most at heart.  
And when a new Solicitor Gen. is wanted,  
notwithstanding there being within the  
circle of Ministerial supporters profession-  
al talent, which one would suppose might  
easily have been commanded, and which

stood pledged to the very measure in  
question, the mantle of Ministerial prefer-  
ence descended upon one as avowedly and  
consistently opposed to it as was perhaps  
to be found within the range of the pro-  
fession. Such were the sources of satisfac-  
tion from which those who had supported  
the present Ministry on the grounds of  
what they called *moderation* were left to  
draw their consolation. [Cheers and  
laughter.] They surely then could not  
but see how much more they had in com-  
mon, with the opposition than with the  
Ministry which they had lent their aid to  
create, and which could not stand a day  
but for their support. He thought he had  
said enough to demonstrate that the Min-  
istry were, at all events, not entitled to the  
confidence of the *Moderates*, and he be-  
lieved they did not possess it. In what  
quarter then were they to look for those  
who supported the present Ministry, as re-  
presenting their opinions, or endeavoring  
to give effect to their views? No where!  
[Cheers.] Such then was the position to  
which this great Province was reduced,  
that it had a Ministry possessing the real  
confidence of no one, abused in far less  
measured terms by those who voted for  
them than by the opposition itself, and  
which, but for the fear of that opposition,  
could scarcely command half a dozen  
votes beyond the magic circle of office,  
and none beyond that of direct Minister-  
ial influence. [Cheers.] He asked, was  
that a creditable state of things for any  
party concerned in maintaining it? Was  
it not, on the contrary, one in which it was  
obvious that the great interests of the  
country must be sacrificed, and from  
which, therefore, all must ultimately suf-  
fer? [Cheers.] And at what time is it  
that this position of things comes upon  
us, and how have these Ministers dealt or  
attempted to deal with the great questions  
which have agitated the public mind, and  
in which the public interests are so deeply  
concerned? In consequence of a great  
change in the policy of the parent state  
the country has been placed in an entirely  
new position as regards her Agricultural,  
Commercial, and Manufacturing interests.  
Have the present Ministry, either by the  
strength which they command, the con-  
fidence they inspire, or the manner in  
which they have met this great change,  
shown themselves in any way equal to the  
crisis? Have they in this, any more  
than in any other, met the reasonable ex-  
pectations of any portion of the communi-  
ty in regard to it? It is true they sent a

despatch in England, which seems to have been approved neither on the one side of the Atlantic nor the other. And they have had some tinkering with the Customs; but they had ventured upon no broad development of views upon this important subject such as the country was entitled to expect from those into whose hands had been committed her political destinies. [Cheers.] With respect to the great change to which he had referred, it had come upon us by no action of our own. It had proceeded from a quarter over which we had no control. All discussion, therefore, as to the expediency or inexpediency of adopting it as respected us was precluded, as, at least, unnecessary. But having been thus imposed upon us by the irresistible current of events and the progress of Imperial Legislation, it was evident to him it must be carried out to its legitimate consequences. [Cheers.] We must not shut our eyes to those consequences, but with a manly self-reliance look our condition boldly in the face, and meet the exigencies of the position in which we are placed. Above all we must not allow any sickly attempt to favor what might be supposed to be the shipping or any other particular interest to be successful at the expense of the great body of the people of the country. [Cheers.] With respect to some of those interests, Great Britain had in the most solemn manner expressed her readiness to acquiesce in this course of action on our part—conferring upon us the power of legislating upon the subject to an extent never before conceded to any of her Colonies. And with respect to the shipping question, he for his part doubted not that she would be found ready to deal with it in a spirit of equal fairness. [Cheers.] He did not overlook the political considerations to which Lord John Russell had referred, with respect to this important branch of the subject, and he [Mr. B.] would be the last man in the Province in the least degree to undervalue them. [Cheers.] But he doubted much whether, when an enlarged and accurate view came to be taken of the question in all its bearings, it would be found that the considerations alluded to really entered, to any extent that could be appreciated, into the question. But what he should feel bound to contend for was, that the farmers of the country were not, on the one hand, to be deprived of the advantage of differential duties in their favor in the Markets of Great Britain; and on the other, be saddled with such duties, or what

in its practical operation on their interests was equivalent to such duties, for the mere advancement of the separate interests of any other class of the community either in the Parent State or the Colony itself. [Great Cheering.] Before leaving this subject, however, he must strongly deprecate any idle attempt to delude the people of this country into a belief that any action of theirs could procure a retrograde movement on the part of the Imperial Government, or stop the forward progress of the mighty movement that had commenced. The word had gone forth, in different parts of Europe it had already met with an echo, which, though as yet feeble, sufficiently indicated the certainty of its onward course. Let no one then persuade us to waste our time or exhaust our energies, in any attempt of the kind to which he referred; but let us learn to depend upon ourselves. Let us shake off the imbecility of childhood and stand erect like men, and be felt assured that Canada would be found fully equal to the emergency. [Cheers.]—But he had strayed from the point to which he had been directing their attention,—the manner in which the ministry had met, or rather the manner in which they had *not* met the great questions now before the public. He must trespass a few moments to recur again to the University and Clergy Reserve questions. Surely these were questions of Provincial importance, if any questions deserved to be so styled. Nay, with regard to the former, the minister himself, when bringing forward the bill in 1845, had warned his friends and threatened his opponents with the most solemn announcements of the deep importance of the question, and the danger, if left undisposed of, that it might kindle a flame which should burn from one end of the Province to the other, with the most inextinguishable fury and the most devastating effects on the peace and tranquillity of the Province at large. [Cheering.] And yet, after having got over the first session—displacing one of his colleagues because he could not support it, and at the same time retaining the services of another public servant, high, or who ought to have been high in the confidence of the Administration, though he stood in a position very similar—supplying the place of the displaced member of his Cabinet with a gentleman avowedly opposed to the principles of his own measure,—he then comes down to the second session with this great measure, upon the success of which so much depended, as an

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open question! [Cheers, and erior of "Shame! Shame!"]

Then as to the Clergy Reserve question, he would ask, had the public no opinion on that question? did the people of the province deem it a matter of little or no moment whether these reserves were vested in the ecclesiastical corporation or not? [cries of they did! they did! ]—he [Mr. Baldwin] well knew that they did, and that no one acquainted with the state of public opinion in Upper Canada but was well aware that a large, an immense majority of the people of the country were opposed to any such investment [cheers, and cries of they are! they are! ], and yet, this too, was left an open question by a ministry claiming to possess the confidence of the country. Upon this vitally important question, the administration presented a beautiful equilibrium of opinion. [Cheers and laughter.] There was Mr. Atty. Gen. Draper on the one side, and that there might be no jealousy as respected official rank, Mr. Atty. Gen. Smith on the other [laughter]. Mr. Sol. Gen. Sherwood, since replaced by Mr. Sol. Gen. Cameron, on the one side, and Mr. Sol. Gen. Taschereau on the other, Mr. Inspector Gen. Cayley on the one side, and Mr. Sec. Daly on the other! [laughter], and lastly, Mr. Commissioner Robinson on the one side, and Mr. Commissioner Papineau on the other. Mr. Viger having, he presumed, retired that the Ministerial Phaënx in the Commons might not be disturbed by an odd number to interfere with the exactness of its equilibration. [Renewed laughter.] These two great questions have been thus made what were called open questions, that is, questions upon which the ministry, as a ministry, have no opinion. Now he could well understand how, as questions were growing upon public attention and before the public mind had become fixed upon them, it might happen—nay, would necessarily happen—that a government could not be formed without having such questions in the position alluded to. The Slave Trade, Catholic Emancipation, and other great questions, had for a long time occupied that position in the parent state. But such was not the position of the two great provincial questions to which he had alluded. Upon them public opinion had long been fixed, and it was trifling with their most sacred obligations to the public, whose servants they were, in any ministry to treat them in the manner that the present administration had done. [Great cheering.]

He had thus directed their attention to the history of the past, while dwelling upon the events of the present, and pointing to the prospects of the future, and, had he trusted, convinced them that those prospects were, thus far, as fair, as under any circumstances could have been expected. But before concluding, he must remind them that their prospects may all be blasted if they, the people, remained inactive, or over confident, or if they suffered those miserable divisions as to the choice of candidates which had cost them five constituencies at the last election, and would lead to their certain defeat if suffered to prevail at the ensuing one. *Union is strength*, was a truth of which their opponents always showed themselves fully sensible, and never failed to act upon—a particular in which their conduct was worthy of the most careful imitation. [Cheers.] It mattered not to them who the candidate of their party was, all rallied in his support, and the consequence frequently was, that they carried constituencies in which the Reformers had an undoubted majority of the voters. If they, the Reformers, were desirous of sustaining their reputation—if they were desirous of proving that they were deserving of the name of a *great party*, their divisions must be put an end to. [Cheers.] He, for his part, was willing to do his duty, and sustain the battle so long as there remained a reasonable prospect of doing so with advantage to the public interest, and credit to themselves—[cheers.] But this could not be done by a disunited, disjointed body, in which the great interests of the whole were sacrificed to local or individual jealousies, and if such were permitted to spread their baneful influences, his friends had no right to expect him to continue the political contest. Now was the time to avoid these difficulties by early fixing on the candidates to be run for the different counties and ridings. It was true there was no particular reason to look for an immediate dissolution, but affairs were exactly in that position, and the ministry held office by exactly that precarious tenure, that while an election might not take place till the expiration of the term for which the present parliament was elected, on the other hand it might be on them before they were aware of it; and at all events it was their duty to themselves, and to the great principles which they had so long and so successfully advocated, to be prepared for the contest. [Repeated cheers.] His advice then was to them, and to all the

Reform constituencies in the province to address themselves earnestly to the important duty of fixing upon the candidates. In doing so, they should remember that there were two points always to be considered, two objects always to be obtained—the first was to carry the constituency with the principle by insuring the success of the candidate of the party, whoever that candidate may be—and the second, the sending, if possible, a man who can be thoroughly relied on as a staunch supporter of our principles. [Loud cheers.] The former it is in the power of every constituency in which the reformers have the majority to accomplish, if they will be but united—As to the latter, no man can dive into another's breast and be so sure of what lies there, as to be certain that he may not be deceived in him. It may be, therefore, that in some cases the gentleman who may be the Reform candidate, may not in the estimation of all our friends be the fittest man, either as respects talents, tried principles, or firmness of purpose. Nevertheless, it is equally the duty of all friends to the cause, to sustain him to the utmost of their ability, and with all their influence. [Loud cheering.] If by their coldness in acting, the opposite candidate succeeded, they must remember that they are as much responsible to the great body of the party, and have practically done as much injury to the cause, as if they had actually voted for the other side.—[Cheers.] If the candidate of the party be returned, the constituency can at all events and under all circumstances be claimed as going for the principle, even though it should prove that they had been mistaken in their man, and that he turns traitor to the cause. But if by lukewarmness, or division, the election is lost, the parliamentary vote is lost equally as in the former case; and the other party have the right to claim for all practical purposes, the constituency itself as going with them in principle in any general estimation as to the sentiments of the country at large. He would repeat therefore, that it was a duty which every man owed to the principles which he professed, to the great body of his political friends throughout the province who were engaged in the same struggle, and to that country whose best interests he believed would be promoted by the triumph of those principles, to sacrifice every private and personal consideration on the altar of the public good, and to unite heart and hand in support of the candidate of the party. [Cheers.] And

he would say further—for it was not a time nor an occasion to deal otherwise than with the most perfect candour—that those who were backward in recognising and acting upon this necessary principle were not entitled to be considered true friends to the cause of which they were desirous of being considered supporters. [Cheers.] He had said that this was not a time for trifling. Their friends of Lower Canada, who had stood so nobly by them in the hour of their political adversity, expected, and had a right to expect, that at least they should exhibit unanimity amongst themselves; and he would assure them that if the next elections were lost through want of union, the consequences would be both humiliating and disastrous. They all remembered the boast of what had been called the old Compact Party, that they alone were capable of conducting the government of the country. They, the Reformers, had fought the good fight of the constitution, and had the proud boast of having established their great principle so far, that even their opponents in power have to profess to conduct the government in accordance with it, and to admit that it can now be conducted on no other. [Cheers.] Think, then, what would be the shame which would mantle every face, if, after having achieved this great victory, they, the Reformers of Canada, should, by their internal dissensions, prove themselves incapable of giving effect to their own principles, by taking upon them the administration of the government, if circumstances should arise under which they should be called to do so. And yet every man who withholds any part of his energies in the coming contest, however specious the pretence under which he may shelter, or however skilful the fallacy by which he may deceive himself, will, by so doing, be aiding in this work of self-degradation—be maintaining his opponents in power and place, and verifying their proud boast, that they, and none but they, are capable of administering the government of his country. He put it to them, then, as a body—to each of them individually—to every man in the country to whom the great principles which they were met that night to sustain were dear—whether they would lend themselves to the verification of this proud boast of their opponents? [Cries of No! No!! No!!!] Then let them remember that there was but one way of avoiding it, and that was by sacrificing every other consideration to the one great principle that “UNION IS STRENGTH.”